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tility aroused by the writings of the founder of "scientific socialism" led Marx and his follower Engels to overstate the importance of their historical doctrine. But with a more favorable reception the earlier crude form has been modified, so that its supporters no longer claim "that the economic relations exert an exclusive influence, but that they exert a preponderant influence in shaping the progress of society."

Although the historical student is skeptical about the value of any attempt, such as this of Marx and his school, to find the causes of historical change in any particular succession of phenomena, to say nothing of its feasibility, he reads with great interest this complete and able exposition of the most instructive and interesting theory of social dynamics. Professor Seligman maintains throughout the book an attitude of impartiality, and with a complete mastery of the subject and its literature covers the whole field of the controversy, exposing satisfactorily the weaknesses and the strength of the theory, so that the book must be regarded as a distinct contribution to the philosophical side of historical literature.

C. W. ALVORD.

Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties. By M. OSTROGORSKI. Translated from the French by FREDERICK CLARKE, M.A., with a preface by JAMES BRYCE, M.P. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1902. Two vols., pp. lviii, 627; xliii, 793.)

THIS book is by far the largest treatise that has yet appeared upon a subject which has been growing in importance for nearly a century. The author has been engaged upon the work for many years. He has not only made a thorough examination of the material available, but he has also spent a great deal of time in talking with public men of all kinds in England and America; and, in fact, students interested in the subject have long been looking for the book. The first volume treats of England, the second of America, and they are, in reality, separate treatises; for, although the author makes in the American part an occasional comparison with the condition of things in England, these references are few, and there is no systematic attempt to treat the phenomena of parties in the two countries as different aspects of a single problem.

The first volume begins with a description of the condition of England in the eighteenth century — the old unity, as the author calls it. Then follows an account of the breaking up of the old society, the attempts at reaction, and the definite triumph of the new régime. This part of the book, which covers a little over one hundred pages, is interesting and suggestive. Then the main theme is taken up, beginning with the origin of political associations and party organization, leading up, of course, to the establishment of the Birmingham caucus, and its development into the National Liberal Federation. The author next takes up the development of the conservative organization, and afterwards describes in great detail the party machinery, and the methods of

nominating and electing candidates to Parliament. He also devotes no inconsiderable space to the Primrose League and other auxiliary organizations.

This volume is not only the fullest description in existence of party organizations in Great Britain, but the only comprehensive book on the subject, and as such it is invaluable, not only for students, but also for all persons interested in English public life. Two criticisms may, however, be made upon it, both of which apply, and with even greater force, to the volume treating of America. The first of these relates to its length. Not that the book contains unnecessary matter, or that in reading it one is wearied by prolixity; but simply that many people will not read a book of 1,500 pages who would read the same book if it were half as long. Every library of reference must contain the book, and every student of government must use it, but the public will be less familiar with it than if it were of smaller size.

The second criticism is one which Mr. Bryce makes in the preface, where he remarks, "I cannot but think M. Ostrogorski exaggerates the power and the poison of what he calls the caucus in England." In this Mr. Bryce is surely right, for the author attributes to the caucus a power to direct public policy which it appeared at one time to be about to exert, but which was never fully developed and of late has been distinctly lessened. The author is keen and clear-sighted, but seems at times to fail to interpret quite correctly the phenomena that he perceives. He notes, for example, the growth in recent years of the influence of the official leaders over the National Liberal Federation, and says that the meeting of the delegates is reduced to passing cut-and-dried resolutions arranged beforehand with the leaders; but he does not seem to appreciate the full significance of this. It means that the federation has been muzzled and, as far as it purports to formulate and direct liberal opinion, has been made to no small extent a sham.

The American volume begins with a history of the early organization of parties, the establishment and evolution of the convention system, and its immediate political effects. All this, as in the case of the English part, is well done, clear, and full. The author then goes on to describe the existing party organizations, including the national conventions and the election campaign. One of the best chapters, and certainly the most graphic, is the description of the national convention itself. M. Ostrogorski knows well the stage properties by which the dramatic effect is produced, laughs at the ridiculous side of it, and yet, like the other spectators, he cannot altogether escape from the enthusiasm.

Two chapters are devoted to the politician and the machine, followed by what he calls the struggles for emancipation, that is, the various efforts at reform. Then comes a long summary of results and, finally, the conclusion with its suggestion of a remedy.

The American portion of the work is open to the same criticisms as the English. The length is too great for comfortable reading and there is some repetition that might be avoided. There is also the same ten-

dency to attribute to the machine more power than it really possesses. M. Ostrogorski's own observation is keen and his own opinion is probably accurate, but the work is likely to produce a false impression on the reader. In one of the best chapters of the book (Chap. 7, Sec. II.), on "The Politicians and the Machine," the author points out why the amount of injury actually done by the machine to the life of the nation or of the city is not greater than it is, and how its evil influences are limited; and in the summary at the end of the book (pp. 554-557) he shows us very clearly that he does not fall into the common error of thinking that all the legislation of the country is directed by the machine. But although, as in the case of England, he shows us that he has the facts in his hand, he does not seem quite to grasp their meaning. He does not appear to see that the machine in this country does not quite fill all the place that it appears to fill; that, while it degrades politics, its influence upon the social and economic life of the country, and even upon the growth of the law, is not so large as a superficial observation would lead one to suppose.

There is one special criticism that may be made upon the American part; and here, again, it is a criticism of the impression made by the book, and not of the correctness of the facts as they lie in the mind of the author. He shows us by some of his remarks how well he knows that the condition of the machine differs in different parts of the country; that many states have never had a boss at all, and that others have had one only intermittently. Yet he describes the boss system in such a way that a careless reader would suppose it universal and, in fact, he portrays the condition of things in the worst places as if he were depicting a fair type or sample of the whole. The effect thus produced is of course unintentional, but it leaves the impression on the mind of the reader that the author is speaking in a tone of exaggeration throughout.

M. Ostrogorski's suggestion of a remedy is one that he has foreshadowed through the latter part of the book. It consists in the substitution of temporary leagues, formed to promote particular objects, for permanent political parties organized to control the offices of state. These leagues would, of course, be voluntary. They would be formed and dissolved at the pleasure of their members to meet the exigencies of the times. Union, as he puts it, would thus be substituted for unity, and he sees signs that such change is already coming. A political evolution is beginning to take place, he tells us, with the cry "Down with party and up with league!" and to the evolution of such a movement he looks for the salvation of democratic society.

For the benefit of scholars who prefer to read books in the original tongue it may be added that although the title-page states that this work is translated from the French, we understand that no French edition has yet appeared, or is likely to do so in the immediate future.

A. L. LOWELL.